

636 the workings of Lepcha democracy. The original appointee of the Maharani was a Tibetan (or Sikkimese; the Lepchas do not distinguish the two races) who lived at Hi; but the Lepchas did not like having a stranger set over them and asked for the office to be given to Lepchas; the Court, which is always sensitive to such petitions, acquiesced, and the office was split into two: the seven villages on the Teesta side were put in charge of a man of Hi, and the five on the Talung side in charge of Tafoor's father. The man at Hi fulfilled the office satisfactorily, and his son is now the Muktair of the whole of Zongu; he is a youngish man and has so far no male children; he gives general satisfaction in his performance of the office.

When Tafoor's father died in 1935 Tafoor should normally have succeeded him. There were however some objections to his taking the office; he could not read or write Nepali or Sikkimese, in which all official business is transacted, but only ecclesiastical Tibetan. Even more important was the fact that he was the only relatively young lama who was sufficiently learned to be able to direct the monastery when the present old Dorjé Lapoon died; and he was the only lama in the whole neighbourhood who had the requisite knowledge and who had gone through the mystic training necessary for the stopping of rain and hail. This power is firmly believed in by the lamaists of Tibet and Sikkim, and in the extremely rainy Talung valley is a most useful and necessary accomplishment. If Tafoor had become Muktair he would not have had the necessary time for these religious pursuits, and therefore, somewhat against Tafoor's private desires, the householders requested that he might be allowed to continue his ecclesiastical work.

636 While the matter was still undecided the Rhennock Kazi and the Political Officer came to stop at the *dak*-bungalow at Singhik. An individual called Tempa from Lingthem went and offered his services to them, and with his fluent Nepali and Tibetan made himself very useful. At the end of their visit he asked the Rhennock Kazi to appoint him Muktair of the five Talung villages, and the request was granted.

Tempa is a man of forty-four who was born in Savong near Gangtok, well outside Zongu. He claims to be a pure Lepcha, but both his character and appearance are different to the Lepchas of Zongu. He was the only man in Lingthem to have any facial hair; he had a straggling fringe of coarse black beard round his face. When he was about fifteen he became a coolie of the present

781 negative results which occurred through not following their
 787 instructions. Not even Tafoor had any knowledge of his first
 horoscope, though he could have re-cast it if he had been curious.

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785 The higher lamas, the *omzet* and Dorjé Lapoon, perform mystic
 exercises for the good of their soul and to acquire supernatural
 powers. These exercises consist firstly in acquiring the requisite
 instruction and then being immured in a specially prepared and
 completely dark room called *tyang-gong* for a certain period. While
 they are immured they naturally see no light at all; for periods up
 to a fortnight they fast completely; for longer periods food is
 handed through a series of doors so arranged that no light and no
 possible contact with the external world reaches the mystic. During
 the whole period the lamas naturally cannot wash; a hole is
 especially prepared in the floor through which they can excrete.

As has already been explained this discipline is used for short
 periods for the ceremony of *kong-so klon*; it is also used for some
 other similar rituals. It was employed by Tafoor in order to obtain
 his supernatural power of stopping (or rather moving on) rain.
 Tafoor received his preliminary instruction from his 'big father',
 the second Dorjé Lapoon, who had been taught by a third lama
 who had learned the art in Tibet. When his instruction was com-
 plete a *tyang-gong* was constructed inside his house (there is a
 permanent one on the upper floor of the monastery) and Tafoor
 was immured. For ten days he did without food, drink or sleep,
 concentrating his mind on the special words and 'thoughts' that
 he had been taught, and counting his rosary. During the whole
 time the other people in the house had to take every precaution
 against his hearing human sounds or voices. At the end of the
 tenth day the second Dorjé Lapoon read the proper holy books,
 offered *cherkem* to the devils, opened the *tyang-gong* gradually,
 and fed Tafoor on boiled and powdered rice and milk. For two
 days Tafoor could not eat solid food; he was very weak and thin
 when he came out of the retreat.

789 Tafoor is now the only lama in the whole neighbourhood who
 practises the sending-away of rain; his uncle naturally knows how,
 but nowadays he concentrates exclusively on stopping hail. While
 Tafoor is keeping away the rain he must stop indoors concentrating;
 nobody must speak to him while he is doing this, nor may any

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member of the household go near a big stream nor pour water on the ashes in the house. Tafoor also must refrain from sexual activity, for at the time of the orgasm the gods would look down and be angry.¹¹ Control of rain can be as localised as is wished; it can extend over a single field or the whole of Zongu, and can be held off as long as the officiant prays. I suggested to Tafoor that he could ruin an enemy by concentrating all the time and preventing any rain falling on the enemy's fields; he agreed that this was so, but the idea seemed to him so ridiculous that he burst out laughing, although he treats this power of his otherwise very seriously and does not jest about it. The control of hail does not require the same precautions but necessitates the presence of some magical objects including a ram's horn.

There is no question but that not only Tafoor but all the people of the neighbourhood believe completely in this power of stopping rain; people from some way away will come with big presents to get Tafoor to stop rain when they want to work their fields and will work for him also as recompense. I unfortunately only found out about this claim to power of Tafoor's in the last month of my stay in Lingthem. Lingthem is very rainy and there were very few days in which no rain fell. In the last month of my stay there were six occasions when Tafoor announced beforehand that he was stopping rain and on those days no rain did in fact fall. The most extraordinary were the three days of the Boom koor ceremony whose date was fixed after some argument about a fortnight before it took place; when the date was finally decided upon Tafoor said immediately that no rain would fall during those three days, and in point of fact those were the only three days during my whole stay in Lingthem during which no rain fell. There were two other fine days during this period without rain for which I asked Tafoor if he was responsible; he said that on those days he had done nothing. In the event of rain falling while he was meant to be stopping it he has the alibi that some more powerful lama has been sending the rain away from his village to Lingthem or the neighbourhood, for the power consists only in shifting the rain and not in destroying it.

It would naturally need far longer observation than I was able to make to pronounce any judgement on this claimed power. It is worth noting that there is no sort of compulsion for the Lepchas to hire Tafoor; many people do not, because they say they cannot afford to, but everybody I questioned was certain that this

¹¹ Semen is called *sik-oong*—penis water.

789 rain-control worked, and cited numerous examples from their past experience to prove it.

832 This is the only instance of powers which the Lepchas themselves deem supernatural being used in ordinary life. The tradition of sorcery has already been referred to ; its use is so rare that it plays no part in the life of most people. There is a tradition of love magic in which the hairs of the two people meant to love one another are plaited and concentrated upon. Although they know the ritual, lamas themselves say that nobody living has performed it. It is said that Mun are requested to do this by one spouse if the other is unfriendly or by parents if their child and his or her spouse disagree : I never heard of an actual instance of this and it would seem as though it were only a tradition.

000 "The Congress, which has refused office in six provinces where the party is in a position to form Ministries, observed a *hartal* to mark the inauguration of autonomy in the provinces.

"The *hartal* was observed in Calcutta by the closing of Hindu shops. A small minority of Moslem-owned shops were also closed.

"Public services continued as usual, but schools and offices under the control of the Calcutta Corporation were closed. No disturbances have been reported."

* * * * *

782 At almost the very moment when the Governor of Bengal
 787 was administering the oath to his newly-appointed Ministers,
 ●789 an old Lepcha woman was squatting on the ground in a remote valley in Sikkim, with an egg pressed against her forehead. This was the day of the *Cherim* ceremony, which is observed all over Sikkim twice in every year: once now, and again at the beginning of the winter. Its purpose is to find out what sickness is likely to trouble the village during the next few months and, since the Lepchas like to get as much benefit as possible out of any one celebration, also to keep
 [387] away hail. Kahlyeu, a gentle old man of nearly eighty, had previously made a rough altar of the branches of trees. It
 [133] faced up the valley in full sight of Kinchinjunga, the summit
 [437] of which is only twenty miles away as the crow flies, but for poor toiling man a journey of many painful days along the
 [137] roughest of paths, and through thick rhododendron forest, to
 787 the lower slopes alone. On his roughly constructed altar
 789 Kahlyeu now put a large brass tray in which were seven
 778 cones of butter, four eggs (some said it should have been
 782 three), one rupee, three small butter-lamps and a Tibetan
 [285] ceremonial scarf. The tray was placed on top of a plaited
 [415] bamboo winnowing-tray, on which was spread a piece of red cotton cloth. All this was an offering to the spirits who dwell
 [776] in the mountain, which the local people know only as Konchen. Before the eggs were placed in position Pom-ri, the old woman who was making the offering, placed each in

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782 turn to her forehead and said a short prayer. She told us
 787 afterwards that by this means she could ascertain what devils
 789 of sickness were likely to trouble the village (on this occasion
 778 it was coughs and cold); and by offering them the grain and
 other things ensure that their visitations should at least cause
 no permanent harm.

787 As soon as the eggs were placed in position on the tray a
 789 bowl of burning juniper twigs was placed on the ground,
 782 just to the right of the altar. This was to drive the clouds
 away from the top of the mountain in order that the spirits
 might see what was being offered them. Pom-ri now started
 [415] to chant in a cracked and mumbling voice. In her right hand
 she held a small drinking bowl, round the rim of which
 butter had been smeared. A woman helper ladled strained
 spirit into the bowl from time to time from a large vessel
 which stood on the ground beside her; and on the other side
 of Pom-ri stood Kahlyeu, his cap, filled with grain, in one
 hand. From time to time Pom-ri threw the contents of her
 bowl towards the mountain, when it was at once refilled by
 her assistant; and as she did this the old man threw out a
 handful of grain from his cap. He, too, chanted, and at times
 the pair seemed to be moaning in unison. But they were both
 so old, and their voices so cracked and low that it was
 impossible to catch their words. I did, however, frequently
 hear the word Konchen at the moment when the libations
 were being offered. This went on for about twenty minutes,
 and then the pair turned about and faced down the valley,
 chanting and making offering as before.

Having propitiated the spirits of Konchen they had now
 turned their attention to such evils as come from the direction
 of the plains; on this particular occasion it was hail. In the
 meantime a goat had been slaughtered in the bushes behind.
 [231] This was done by thrusting a short pointed bamboo stake
 into its heart, the usual method of killing small domestic
 animals. At the place where it was killed a fire was
 lighted and the carcass lightly singed. After this the meat,
 including the animal's head, the liver (on a stake), and the

782 washed entrails, together with a small bamboo container
 787 filled with the goat's blood, was placed on the ground in
 ● 789 front of the altar. The old man and woman now chanted as
 [622] before, after which the meat was taken away and distributed
 to all present under the supervision of the village Mandal, or
 head-man. The goat was offered first to Konchen and then
 to all the other spirits. During the whole of this celebration
 none of the spectators, of which there must have been fifty or
 sixty, paid the slightest attention to what was going on. As
 we later noticed, this was the case on all such occasions: the
 people merely sat round drinking and talking; but I did hear
 a child reproved for making too much noise while the
 actual chanting was in progress.

* * * * *

491 If one takes the night mail from Calcutta it is easily
 possible, by motoring from Siliguri, to reach Gangtok, the
 capital of independent Sikkim, well before lunch on the
 following morning. The motor road at present ends at
 Gangtok, but the Talung Valley can be reached the following
 evening by any moderately active walker. The actual
 distance is about twenty-five miles; but included in this is a
 descent of nearly three thousand feet, immediately followed
 by an ascent of like amount. This drop and subsequent rise
 is repeated again at the end of the journey, but fortunately
 on a smaller scale. If really in a hurry it would be possible to
 reach the Talung in something under thirty-six hours from
 Calcutta; but having crossed the rickety suspension bridge
 across the Teesta, the sole means of access to the valley, one
 steps backward in time, so to speak, into another world. In
 181 Calcutta (said to be the second city in the British Empire;
 but in my opinion an easy first in dirt and squalor) English-
 men, and others, toil all day in a vile climate for the sole
 purpose of acquiring more wealth than their fellows: but in
 the Talung Valley, which has meadows as green as any in
 Europe, and some of the finest mountain scenery in the
 world, money is considered of little importance, and one man

636 over his district twice each year, when he assesses the tax to be paid on areas newly brought under cultivation. He also registers births and deaths. At the end of each tour he reports to Gangtok and renders his accounts in person. It may be noted in passing that local officials, whatever their rank, have at all times direct access to the Maharaja, with whom they may discuss their problems in person. The system is almost exactly the same as English feudalism at its best, and is free from the rigidity that makes British Indian administration so inelastic and impersonal.

The office of Mukhtiyar is not necessarily hereditary, since it can only be successfully filled by one who can at least read and write. The first Mukhtiyar of Jongu was a Lama of Lingtem, and when he died the office was offered to his son Tafoor. This man, who is also a Lama, is one of the most intelligent men in the village, and was one of our best informants. He felt, however, that he was unfitted for the post, since his education had been confined almost entirely to [789] classical Tibetan. Also he was the only man in the village who had learnt how to keep away rain; and because of this the whole village begged him to refuse the office. The present Mukhtiyar does not live in Lingtem, and we only met him once, when he came to pay his respects.

622 The post of village Mandal is hereditary. If he has no son, as is at present the case in Lingtem, the office will eventually devolve upon the man who marries his daughter; but when a man has no children some near paternal relative will usually be appointed. In addition to their work as tax-collectors 622 Mandals have authority to inflict fines up to thirty rupees, 692 but a Mukhtiyar may order a fine of sixty. Any case requiring a bigger fine than this has to be reported to the Durbar in [685] Gangtok, which also settles cases in connection with misappropriation of land; but there have been no such cases in 622 Lingtem since many years. Mandals receive no pay from the state, but each household is required to give him three days' free labour (or three men for one day) a year. This is to compensate him for the neglect of his fields which would otherwise occur during his absence on state business.

159 particular case his elder brother agreed to regard him in the
 545 light of a co-husband, which meant that the Dorje-Lopön and
 his elder brother's wife could live together quite openly. This
 state of affairs was almost exactly similar to the so-called
 Tibetan polyandry. It is not usual amongst Lepchas, and
 the Mandal told me that he had not heard of any other cases.
 After the return of the elder the two brothers lived with the
 one wife in perfect amity for years. The elder brother died
 some time ago, and it was only after his wife's death that the
 Dorje-Lopön actually married, since the original ceremony
 was performed only by his elder brother. There were no
 children by this marriage.

159 I often wondered why he decided to marry so late in life;
 581 but after we got to know him well he told us, with a twinkle
 in his eye, that for an old man marriage was preferable to
 promiscuity. Also, in his old age he liked to think that there
 was someone to care for him. He seemed to have a good
 knowledge of his books and generally officiated at the
 monastery services, since his senior does not nowadays often
 ● [789] attend. He is the only man in Lingtem who has acquired the
 necessary knowledge to keep away hail, and for this reason
 his services are much in demand at certain times of the year.
 He has no property of his own, and lives in the house of
 Tafoor, the son of his younger brother.

* * * * *

159 Tafoor, whose rank is *Umzet*, is secretary and treasurer of
 Lingtem monastery. Inclined to be stout, he has few worldly
 [422] cares and looks the typical jovial monk. His father, until the
 time of his death, was Mukhtiyar of the whole of Jongu
 district; as a result of which Tafoor and his brother have
 inherited not only a considerable number of fields, but also
 one of the best houses in the village, complete with its own
 private altar, images, and books. He is by far the best-
 educated man in Lingtem, and has a good knowledge of
 Tibetan sacred literature: also he speaks Nepali. Although a
 Lama he might have followed his father but for the fact,

As a matter of fact, Datoop's wife has never exercised her powers. Although she is such a commanding personality, everybody likes her; and we often heard of her going out of the way to lend a helping hand to others.

* * * * *

The Inebu Dorje Lopön is a widow of sixty-two and lives alone with her adopted son, having had no children of her own. Although the official leader of the women, she can neither read nor write, and has turned up to-day, the 10th of April, in ignorance of the fact that no ceremony will take place for another two days. Her husband, who died many years ago, was a layman. After they had been married for some years she persuaded him to take her niece as a second wife. This he did; but she too was childless. The Dorje Lopön liked having a co-wife, because it made her housework very much lighter. The husband used to spend alternate nights with his two wives, but this was never a cause of quarrels. She thinks that for women the period immediately after marriage is the happiest time of life. Both men and women begin to get old at sixty; but even so, if she had a husband she would still enjoy sleeping with him. She did not actually remain faithful to her husband's memory; but has now ceased to be interested in the cares of the flesh. Her adopted son is the child of her elder brother. This boy, who was betrothed a few months ago, and will be married next year, is at present living at the home of his future bride. The Mandal arranged the match, and since the Dorje Lopön has very little money of her own friends have subscribed towards the marriage expenses; but the boy's own father has paid a considerable part. Suspended from her necklace she always wore the broken head of a small china stag, of the type one can buy in the street for a penny. She had acquired this beast many years ago, and when it broke had kept its head, which she regarded as some sort of miraculous charm. We never saw her without it.

* * * * *

159 to have an altar-room, and also a set of books, to read which
 342 Lamas are called in as necessary. I noticed that by means of
 622 bamboo conduits water was made available inside the house,
 [312] where it dripped into a huge copper vessel. This was the only
 336 house in Lingtem which might be described as having
 "running water."

159 The Mandal was an only child, and when his father had
 587 already handed over most of his work, he adopted another
 boy in order to have someone to work the fields. On the
 death of his father the Mandal handed his wife, of whom he
 was growing tired, over to this adopted brother; and then
 married again. The first wife died shortly after, whereupon
 the Mandal gave his brother the second; and himself married
 a third. The second wife, who died four years ago, did not
 care for this arrangement and soon returned to her own
 home, whereupon the adopted brother was presented with
 wife number three; and the Mandal married yet again.

[585] Since he and his brother were living in the same house no
 ceremony was performed when these cast-off women were
 handed on; but this would have been necessary had the two
 brothers been living in separate houses. The Mandal has an
 only daughter, and passionately desires to have a son. It is
 this, he says, that has led him into matrimony time after
 time; and he has not finished yet! The people saw he will
 never have a son, since in the time of his father a curse was
 laid on the family. This was done by an evil-minded Lama,
 who thought that if there were any more children they would
 claim the land adjacent to their house. This was the pro-
 perty of some people who had died without heirs, and it had
 not at that time been reallocated.

159 It is generally believed that the Mandal is not the son of his
 [848] supposed father, who was impotent. Once, when the father
 was absent from home, his mother, anxious lest the family die
 out altogether, induced a certain man to come and visit her
 159 daughter-in-law. The story is known to the whole of the
 837 village, and is said to have been made public by Chala's own
 biological father. He appears to have been a man of

796 There was a final crash of music at about nine p.m., after which the rest of the night was silence; but I already had such a splitting headache that a little more or less noise would hardly have made any difference. It would be pleasant to get away from these people for a bit; but alas, in four days' time there is to be another festival; this time in honour of Kinchinjunga.

25th March:

796 Banging of drums and cymbals and trumpet-blowing at 533 intervals throughout the night, but no set piece, so to speak, before 4.30 a.m., when there was a blast of trumpets such as that which we are asked to believe brought down the walls of Jericho. I was half asleep at the time and thought for a moment that an earthquake was imminent.

796 Soon after dawn more Lamas arrived, and by about eight 799 the usual twenty or so were present. Before the service started a large bundle of wormwood was lighted in the garden, the moment when it took fire being greeted by loud shouts from all present. The purpose of this fire is to keep the clouds away from Kinchinjunga throughout the day, so that the god may observe the ceremonies being carried out in its honour.

796 All day yesterday Chodu and two companions spent the 776 day constructing a most elaborate *torma* called *Pong Rum*. It was built up on a wooden baseboard about eighteen inches long and contained five separate offerings, the central one, dedicated to *Jung Ngaw*, being rather larger than the others, which were in honour of the following deities, all said to be satellites of *Konchen*: *Pauhunri* (a mountain forming part of the Cho La range, and known to irreverent mountaineers as Poor Henry. It is very prominent from Lingtem); *Pe matchin Chau-men*; *Ditchen Phoop*; and *Hla-ri Ning-phoop*. The intervening spaces between these five main cones were completely filled with small *tormas* of every shape, said to represent attendants, ministers, servants and various minor deities. There were over two hundred of these, each having

535 commander of all the guardians of the faith, and overlord
721 of all spirits, is invoked by the Lamas to command Dzo-nga to guard the Buddhist religion and the State of Sikkim, and to bring peace, prosperity and security to the people.

All Lama dances are to some extent regarded as physical exercises to counteract the sedentary life of the monks; but the Sikkim war dance is not performed exclusively by Lamas, but also by youths of the upper classes, mostly the sons of the various State officials. It is not so much a dance as a display of agility, discipline, and energy, in which considerable powers of endurance are required. It aims at combining physical training with a feeling of religious zeal and exaltation; and for this reason all the dancers are required to remain celibate during the month or so in which they train and prepare for the ceremony. They are also expected not to drink during this period of preparation; but during the actual performance, which lasts for some six hours or so, they are kept going by frequent draughts of alcohol. The ceremony is rendered impressive and dignified by the religious rite which is being carried on inside the monastery during the whole time the dance is being performed outside.

- 789 In spite of the fact that the war dance always takes place during the height of the monsoon, the selected day is nearly always fine, a special Lama being employed to keep the rain away. On the day previous to the ceremony he makes a large figure of a toad out of dough, buries it deep in the ground and lights a fire above it. He meditates inside the monastery but returns to the spot where he has buried the image in order to utter spells from time to time. Several
- [813] years ago, so the Maharaja told me, it rained throughout the day of the dance; but when the performance was over it was discovered that the Lama had buried the image of a tortoise, apparently as an experiment to see what would happen. Except for a heavy shower while we were at luncheon to-day it was fine and sunny; but heavy rain came on in the evening and continued for several days almost without stopping.

000 people say that the winter snow will prevent us getting beyond the monastery, in which case we shall have to come back to Lingtem again. The Mandal, however, has sent word to the Lama at Talung and told him to provide yaks to take us over to Lachen. I am not afraid of the snow, but the journey will be hardly worth while if it rains the whole time.

• [789] Tafoor says there is no need to worry about this, as for eight rupees he is prepared to keep the rain away. He did this while the *Boom Kor* ceremony was in progress; and although it rained heavily both before and after, it actually was fine for the two days of the ceremony. It seems absurd to suppose that it really is possible to keep rain away; but, on reflection, is it any more extraordinary than wireless?

791 Tafoor was taught how to keep rain away by the second
789 Dorje-Lopön, who gave up the practice, as soon as his pupil was proficient, in favour of hail-stopping, which is said to be very much easier. The actual instruction takes only a month; but Tafoor says it takes from five to seven years before one can bring the necessary gods properly under one's control. On the night previous lights must be put upon the altar and a libation offered at dawn the following morning. At the same time the gods are asked to keep the rain away for a certain definite period, which must be expressly stated. It is possible to keep the rain away for any period up to one month; but it is not a good thing to stop it for longer than a few days at a time, as this is liable to cause trouble in the household of the Lama concerned, and is also unkind to the various animals and insects which depend upon fresh grass for their food. Last year Tafoor says he remained inside his house during the whole of June in order to stop the rain at the general request of the village, as owing to the exceptionally early monsoon the sowing was not completed when the heavy seasonal rains started. Many people testified to me that in Lingtem it did not rain during the whole of this month, in spite of the fact that there was heavy rain in most of the surrounding districts. This, however, is hardly acceptable as evidence, and all I can testify is that the exceptionally

CONCLUSIONS

early arrival of the monsoon drove us defeated from the slopes of Everest.

During the period in which it is wished to keep the rain away the Lama must have no connection with his wife; nor should he touch water, but must confine himself to *chi* or tea. There is no harm in looking upon water, but one should on no account wash in it. The area in which rain can be kept away is the whole extent of country visible from the place where the ceremony is being performed. Thus, although Talung is not visible from Lingtem, Tafoor can keep the rain away from that place because the hills above it are visible.

When Tafoor was learning his period of instruction was terminated by a ten-day fast in a completely dark room, into which he was sealed by his teacher. He felt very hungry for the first two days, but after this he had no particular desire for food. He was not even allowed to leave the room for the purposes of nature and remained sitting in the so-called "Lotus position" for the whole ten days, telling his beads and meditating. As soon as the fast was over he came straight out into the living-room and no arrangement was made to accustom his eyes gradually to the light. He was given a little weak tea and some thin gruel, but even this gave him intense pains in the stomach. On the second day he had a small amount of normal food, after which he resumed his ordinary diet.

In offering to stop the rain while I went up to Talung, Tafoor warned me that his efforts might be completely unsuccessful, for he says he can only do it when his mind is completely in accord with that of the person who wishes the rain kept away; otherwise it will rain harder than ever. He is quite unable to do it for his own brother, for instance: whenever Chodu asks him to keep the rain away, and he has tried many times, it rains as though the end of the world is approaching. But he has never yet had a failure when asked by the Mandal or his senior wife. With others it is possible to ease the rain off sufficiently to make work possible, but not to

- 789 stop it altogether. Unfortunately, it is not possible to get the Mandal, for instance, to make the request on behalf of another in order to ensure success; and there appears to be no means by which one can tell whether one's mind is in accord with that of the Lama or not; one must take the risk and hope for the best.

791 Tafoor's usual fee is twelve pounds of *chi* millet for stopping rain for a period of three days, whatever the result; but if successful it is usual to give him a further eighty pounds of grain when the crops which were sown during the period in which he kept the rain away are harvested. Should he exercise his powers on behalf of the whole village no payment is made in kind, but the others will work his fields for him: this is equivalent to about two days' work from each person concerned.

789 After setting out his altar with lamps, incense, and so on he must look at the sky very intensely and attempt to drive any clouds away by the power of his thoughts; he must continue to do this as each fresh cloud appears. He must start to do this at dawn; and even if no clouds appear he should concentrate on keeping them away at four p.m., nine p.m., and at one the following morning. It is not possible to compromise by stopping the rain only during the daylight hours; it can only be stopped altogether or not at all. While Tafoor is concentrating he must not talk to anyone and should remain quiet and thoughtful; but once he has set the machinery in motion, so to speak, there is no objection to carrying on with his ordinary occupations, but he must not go out and work in the fields.

* * * * *

574 I was all packed up and ready to start by seven, but it took
431 some time to take leave of the village, which turned up in force to see me off. Nearly everyone brought a parting present, as a result of which I left Lingtem with enough chickens to start a poultry farm, and sufficient milk to bathe in. I was greatly touched by the people's kindness, but their

bowstring; and a little pouch, containing aconite poison^[41] and a few common implements, is suspended to his girdle.²⁹¹ A hat he seldom wears, and when he does, it is often extravagantly broad and flat-brimmed, with a small hemispherical crown. It is made of leaves of *Scitamineæ*,^[184] between two thin plates of bamboo-work, clumsy and^{285]} heavy; this is generally used in the rainy weather, while in the dry a conical one is worn, also of platted slips of bamboo, with broad flakes of talc between the layers, and a peacock's feather at the side. The umbrella consists of²⁹³ a large hood, much like the ancient boat called a coracle, which being placed over the head reaches to the thighs behind. It is made of platted bamboo, enclosing broad^[184] leaves of *Phrynium*. A group of Lepchas with these on, running along in the pelting rain, are very droll figures; they look like snails with their shells on their backs. All³⁰¹ the Lepchas are fond of ornaments, wearing silver hoops in their ears, necklaces made of cornelian, amber, and^[139] turquoise, brought from Tibet, and pearls and corals from the south, with curious silver and golden charm-boxes or amulets attached to their necks or arms. These are of⁴⁴⁵ Tibetan workmanship, and often of great value: they⁷⁸¹ contain little idols, charms and written prayers, or the bones, hair, or nail-parings of a Lama: some are of great beauty, and highly ornamented. In these decorations, and³⁰¹ in their hair, they take some pride, the ladies frequently⁵¹⁵ dressing the latter for the gentlemen: thus one may often see, the last thing at night, a damsel of discreet port, demurely go behind a young man, unplait his pig-tail, tease the hair, thin it of some of its lively inmates, braid it up for him, and retire. The women always wear³⁰² two braided pig-tails, and it is by this they are most readily distinguished from their effeminate-looking partners, who wear only one.

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nor the big flat round Shaman-drum (nga). For the sacrifice they do not use either the magic dagger (phur-bu) or the thunderbolt (rdo-rje), nor conch trumpets (dung), nor flutes made from human thigh bones (rkang-gling), nor the trident, nor the cup of the human skull (thod-pa). All the above mentioned articles are however indispensable to the Tibetan magicians, the Inner Asiatic and the Siberian Shamans. It is therefore evident, that the Mun and the Bong-thing cannot be identical with the Tibetan Bon-po as some scholars state. They belong rather to that primitive priest class, which has not been influenced by the typical Shamanism which operated in Tibet and spread from there to some Himalayan districts, to Inner and East Asia. The Mun and the Bong-thing are not allowed to practise any black magic as such. This is attributed to them by the neighbouring people, who consequently fear them greatly. During our investigations on this subject we repeatedly heard it said, "Only a wicked and demoralised Mun and Bong-thing would use his powers to harm another person, for their vocation is precisely to help people and to warn off all harm." The Mun wears no prayer cord. When he has to make a prophecy, he calls to his spirit, who comes on to his shoulder and speaks through his mouth. The Bong-thing has a prayer string, which he uses when prophesying. This string however, differs from the Tibetan one and has no definite number of beads.

In the white magic practised by the Lepchas we found many parallels with the ancient Chinese white magic, which had not as yet been influenced by the typical Inner Asiatic Shamanism. There is something in common to both in the matter of casting out demons. The magician compels the demon to enter into a pot of blood. Once the demon is in, he closes the pot and buries it.⁵⁷ Their dances have certain characteristics in common with the Wu,—the ancient Chinese magicians. In everything we find, the content of the ancient class of magic which was widely spread and which preceded the Inner Asiatic Shamanism. There it received later the typical shaping which today, under the name of Shamanism

57. cf. Dictionary of the Lepcha Language, op. cit. p. 294 a.b.

- 793 wrongly includes all similar phenomena. The Mun and the
 ● 789 Bong-thing bear the closest resemblance to the Barwas of the
 171 Bhils, the Pariar or Parihar of the Korkus (Central India), the
 Mantravadis of the Parayans and Pulayans (South India),
 and the Mantravadis of many other primitive tribes of India.
 We find here a very old class of magicians who have maintained
 their primitive tradition, and have well established rites and
 rules.

- 793 Next in importance to the Mun and the Bong-thing,
 [77] the male Pau and the female Andshemu or Nandshemu are
 to be found among the Lepchas. Both these are said to be
 Tibetan spirits and are not empowered to perform the great
 sacrifices. They need the equipment of the Tibetan Shaman :
 [77] —thunderbolts, skull-drums, etc. Tibetan influence is clearly
 evinced in all details. It may be noted that a Mun can also
 be an Andshemu, e.g. Han-bu-ni whom we have mentioned
 on more than one occasion. When she came forth as an
 [78] Andshemu she spoke Tibetan in the trance and employed
 the Tibetan articles in the performance of the ceremonies.
 A Bong-thing can at the same time be a Pau, and he uses the
 Tibetan articles when he presents himself as a Pau. Some
 investigators have failed to observe this difference, and have
 in consequence erroneously declared the Mun and the Bong-
 thing to be identical with the Tibetan Bon-po. Gorer failed
 to perceive this important distinction, and hence there occur
 in his work, statements which are contradictory to the observa-
 tions we have made. He states, for example, that the Mun
 are only female. We have taken great pains to verify that there
 are both male and female Mun. He calls the Bong-thing
 "Padem," who was supposed to represent a Tibetan spirit.
 [77] This, however, indicates the extent to which Tibetan influence
 has extended in the area, particularly as the district in which
 Gorer carried out his research lay further north, to the Tibetan
 frontier: Gorer considers the Bong-thing to be weaker than
 the Mun, which again is not true in the districts in which we
 carried out our research. He draws a distinction between
 two kinds of Mun ; the good Tang-li Mun, the white magician,
 and the bad Mun-mook Mun, the black magician. Gorer
 [754] however admits that whether one belongs to one type or to
 the other, depends upon the teacher from whom the instruction